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# DOCUMENTS.

## ■ OPENING THE FILES

### The History of *The Nation* According to the F.B.I.

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#### The 1960s: Sneers and Smirks. Rantings and Ravings

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A special issue dated June 24, 1961, featured Fred Cook's long takeout on the Central Intelligence Agency. As summarized inside the Bureau on June 22: "The theme of Cook's article is [that] under Allen Dulles, CIA, operating beneath a cloak of ultra-secrecy, has transcended its basic function as an intelligence-gathering agency and has engaged in 'action' or operational activities with respect to the affairs of foreign governments." The Cook-bashers had another field day. This from one memorandum:

As the literary prostitute who wrote the vicious, unfounded lie about the Bureau which appeared in "The Nation" in 1958, Fred J. Cook needs no introduction.

And from another:

In addition to a strong attack against CIA, his article is directed against U.S. foreign policy and in general follows the Communist Party and Soviet line.

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#### The 1970s: The Hoover Legacy

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*The Nation's* history as recorded in the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation petered out as well. In "Hoover's Legacy," on June 1, 1974, Frank J. Donner made a full-scale review of documents, obtained by other journalists under the Freedom of Information Act, that exposed the F.B.I.'s Cointel project throughout the 1960s. This involved the "disruption programs" against the Socialist Workers Party, the Black Panthers and the New Left. The new, post-Watergate, Director, Clarence M. Kelley, former Police Chief of Kansas City, was advised by

his aides not to comment on Donner's article: "To attempt to refute author's misstatements re cointelpro could only lead to additional unfounded allegations and misstatements. Readership of 'The Nation' made up of those who adhere to beliefs which made up ideological theme of this article." Another memorandum counseled: "By offering rebuttal we would necessarily have to open doors to re-rebuttal by Donner and his clique. Intelligence Division believes there is more to lose than to gain by an attempted rebuttal."

Internal memorandum, Director, F.B.I., to SAC, New York, August 12, 1976:

Bureau desires that you not renew subscription to "The Nation."

NOTE: Section Chief R.L. Shackelford, IS-2 Section, Intelligence Division, determined renewal of above publication not necessary.

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EXCERPTED

*Penn Kimball taught at Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism until 1986. He is the author of The File (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich).*